DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 390 029 CS 012 318

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TITLE The Effects of Instructional Interaction Guided by a Typology of Ethnic Identity Development: Phase One. Reading Research Report No. 44.
INSTITUTION National Reading Research Center, Athens, GA.; National Reading Research Center, College Park, MD.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE 95
CONTRACT 117A20007
NOTE 50p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Childrens Literature; Content Analysis; *Ethnicity; Intermediate Grades; Junior High Schools; Locus of Control; Middle Schools; Multicultural Education; Reading Research; Sex Differences; Teacher Student Relationship
IDENTIFIERS Educational Issues; *Reading Behavior

ABSTRACT

This study collected baseline data on the nature of elementary and middle-grade students' reading engagement level, locus of control, and stage of ethnic identity development (based on J. A. Banks' typology of ethnic identity), and to determine the extent to which selected literature and the instructional interaction in these students' classrooms included content relevant to the curriculum goal of Banks' typology. Participants were 346 fourth- to eight-grade students in classrooms in 5 southeastern and northeastern states. Relationships between age, gender, and ethnic group and reading engagement level, locus of control, and stage of ethnic identity were examined. Literature used in these classrooms during reading, language arts, or social studies instruction was coded and classified according to the content characteristic of the ideology of each stage of ethnic identity. The content of interaction between teacher and students during audiotaped sessions of reading, language arts, or social studies instruction was also examined for relevance to the stages. Analyses of selected literature indicated a low percentage of content characteristic of the ideology of each stage of ethnic identity, and analyses of audiotapes of instructional sessions revealed a limited proportion of content and interaction relevant to the curriculum goals of Banks' typology. (Contains 6 notes, 6 tables of data, and 106 references.) (Author/RS)

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ED 390 029

The Effects of Instructional Interaction Guided by a Typology of Ethnic Identity Development: Phase One

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READING RESEARCH REPORT NO. 44
Fall 1995

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ERRATUM

Figure 1—Please see this figure, referenced on page 11, on the reverse side of this erratum.

Page 14—Table 2 should read:

N = 19 (instead of 42) for Ethnic Identity Clarification/Other
N = 5 (instead of 35) for Bi-Ethnicity/Other

Page 15—Table 3 should read:

N = 155 (instead of 116) and 44.8% (instead of 33.5%) for Gender Totals/Male
N = 191 (instead of 83) and 55.2% (instead of 24.0%) for Gender Totals/Females

Page 16—Table 4 should include the following table note:

*5 students from Virginia are omitted due to the smallness of the subsample

Page 18—Table 6 should read:

N = 157 (instead of 116) for Locus Totals/External
N = 189 (instead of 83) for Locus Totals/Internal

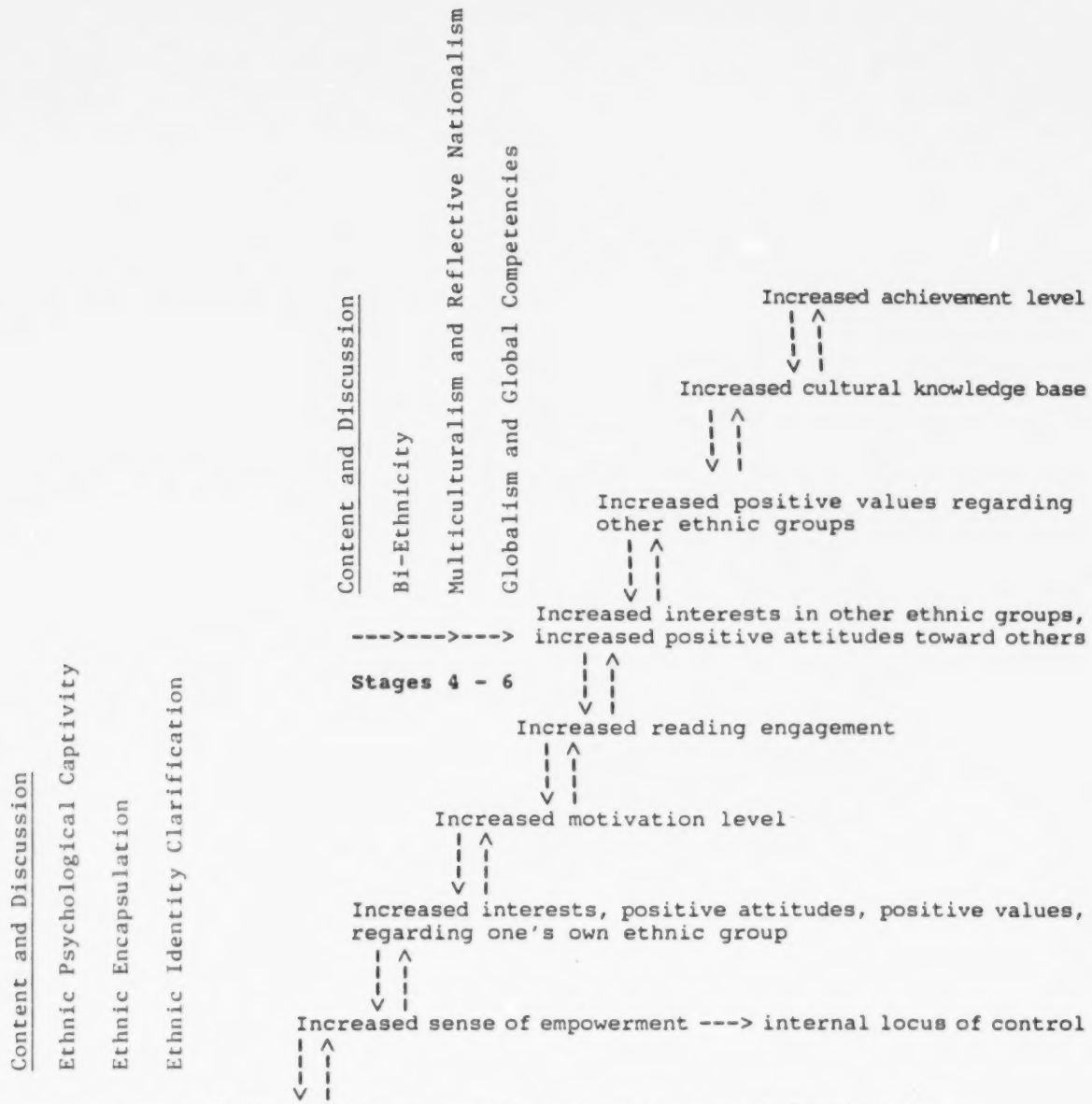
Content and Discussion
Ethnic Psychological Captivity
Ethnic Encapsulation
Ethnic Identity Clarification
---->---->----> Understanding or resolve of one's own ethnic identity
Stages 1 - 3
Increased sense of empowerment ---> internal locus of control
Increased interests, positive attitudes, positive values, regarding one's own ethnic group
Increased motivation level
Increased reading engagement
Increased interests in other ethnic groups, increased positive attitudes toward others
---->---->----> Stages 4 - 6
Content and Discussion
Bi-Ethnicity
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism
Globalism and Global Competencies
Increased positive values regarding other ethnic groups
Increased cultural knowledge base
Increased achievement level

Figure 1. Affective and Cognitive Dynamic Model of Banks' Stages of Ethnic Identity Development, Locus of Control, and Reading Engagement

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National Reading Research Center

The Effects of Instructional Interaction Guided by a Typology of Ethnic Identity Development: Phase One

Louise M. Tomlinson
University of Georgia

READING RESEARCH REPORT NO. 44
Fall 1995

The work reported herein is a National Reading Research Project of the University of Georgia and University of Maryland. It was supported under the Educational Research and Development Centers Program (PR/AWARD NO. 117A20007) as administered by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. The findings and opinions expressed here do not necessarily reflect the position or policies of the National Reading Research Center, the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, or the U.S. Department of Education.

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National Reading Research Center
Universities of Georgia and Maryland
Reading Research Report No. 44
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The Effects of Instructional Interaction Guided by a Typology of Ethnic Identity Development: Phase One

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Abstract. *The purpose of this study was to collect baseline data on the nature of elementary and middle-grade students' reading engagement level, locus of control, and stage of ethnic identity development [based on Banks' (1981) typology of ethnic identity], and to determine the extent to which selected literature and the instructional interaction in these students' classrooms included content relevant to the curriculum goals of Banks' typology. Participants were 346 fourth- to eighth-grade students in classrooms in five southeastern and northeastern states. Relationships between age, gender, and ethnic group and reading engagement level, locus of control, and stage of ethnic identity were examined. Literature used in these classrooms during reading, language arts, or social studies instruction was coded and classified according to content characteristic of the ideology of each stage of ethnic identity. The content of interaction between teacher and students during audiotaped sessions of reading, language arts, or social studies instruction was also examined for relevance to the stages. Analyses of selected literature indicate a low percentage of content characteristic of the ideology of each stage of ethnic identity, and analyses of audiotapes of instructional sessions reveal a limited proportion of content and interaction relevant to the curriculum goals of Banks' typology.*

Classrooms in every state in the nation are becoming increasingly diverse in terms of students' ethnicity and cultural backgrounds. The workforce of the year 2000, as well as the total public school enrollment, is predicted to be one-third peoples of ethnic and racial minorities (Banks, 1989; Education Commission of the States, 1988). In view of such predictions, it becomes more important than ever to deliver literacy instruction that will reflect and address cultural diversity at a deep level. This imperative is urgent not only for the sake of an adequately prepared workforce, but also for the sake of the overall quality of life in our nation.

National profiles abound with relatively low achievement scores (as measured by standardized tests of reading and verbal skills) of students of ethnic minority backgrounds compared to nationwide norms of classroom performance and drop-out rates at all grade levels (K through 12) across race and gender, as indicated by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and the Census reports (National Center for Education Statistics, 1989; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). According to the National Education Goals

Report (NEGR), "there is evidence that U.S. educational achievement deficiencies relative to other nations with whom we compete may be present as early as first grade [and] this achievement gap grows as students get older" (1992, p. 3). A national discrepancy between ethnic and racial group achievement levels indicates that European Americans are more likely than African Americans or Hispanics to have mastered increasingly difficult literacy tasks by adulthood (NEGR, 1992). These problems are also evident in achievement data for other nations such as Britain where there is a considerable mix of ethnic groups, including individuals of color and Anglo Europeans (Scarr, Caprulo, Ferdman, Tower, & Caplan, 1983).

It should be noted, however, that underachievement in literacy is not endemic to minority group students in the United States. An overall national lag in literacy is also evident in the average reading scores for 13- and 17-year-olds which, although needing improvement, showed little change between 1980 and 1990. The average score for 9-year-olds decreased over the same period (NEGR, 1992).

The need for more focus on cultural background and issues of ethnic differences as well as similarities is substantiated in the literature by questions posed by the National Education Goals Panel to derive appropriate assessments of the nation's progress in academic achievement. The panel asked questions such as: Has the gap in [dropout] rates narrowed for minority students and their nonminority counterparts? How do literacy rates vary among racial/ethnic groups and among adults with different education levels? How does the percentage of minority students who are competent in different subject areas compare to all students? Perhaps the most important question asked is: What percentage of students is knowledgeable about the world's diverse cultural history? (NEGR, 1992).

Theoretical Background

An overarching concern and driving force that responds to changing demographics, to low achievement for ethnic and other minority groups in the United States and other countries, and to all of the questions asked above, is the multicultural movement for the development of multicultural literacy (Banks, 1991) and the development of literacy in multicultural contexts (Foerster, 1982). Within the multicultural movement, issues of race, class, gender, and exceptionality, as well as ethnicity, are addressed in terms of their relationships to learning (Banks, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1988). Stevenson and Gonzalez (1992) remind us that there has been a tradition of curriculum and texts dominated by the cultural values and practices of Western Europeans, excluding contributions of minority groups and, thus, resulting in difficulties that minority children experience in relating to what is taught (Gill, 1991; Hilliard, 1991). They indicate that the effects have been most detrimental to African Americans and Hispanics, as reflected in the aforementioned achievement profiles. The multicultural movement in education serves to ameliorate these circumstances.

Many supporters of multiculturalism view multicultural curricula as a way of improving learning and achievement for all (Montero-Sieburth, 1988), because all learners can

benefit from an increased understanding of their own cultures and that of others (Pine & Hilliard, 1990). The multicultural education movement has been advanced in the United States since the enactment of civil rights legislation and bilingual legislation, and demographic changes of the 1960s and 1970s (Steinberger, 1991). This movement has also experienced considerable impetus in other nations (Abu-Laban & Mottershead, 1981; Banks, 1985; Lynch, 1986; van den Berg-Eldering, 1982). In the United States, multicultural education has focused on minority ethnic groups, primarily African Americans (Willie, 1991), Hispanics (de la Brosse, 1984; Metrey, 1987), and Asian Americans (Lott, 1976). However, inherent to its mission is inclusion of all minority and cultural groups, such that issues of individuals with handicaps or disabilities (de la Brosse, 1987), of male and female students, of exceptional students, and of students from various social classes and religious, ethnic, and cultural groups are all met through a comprehensive multicultural approach in education (Banks & Banks, 1989).

The literature reflects the adoption of multicultural theory and practice from the preschool and early childhood education levels (de la Brosse, 1984; Horowitz & O'Brien, 1989; Jipson, 1991; Southern Association on Children Under Six [SACUS], 1990; Spodek, 1989) through secondary (Ladner, 1984) and post-secondary levels (Schear, 1992). There is also a variety of channels through which multicultural education is implemented. Some of these are content-specific in areas such as social studies (Taylor, 1983; Willie, 1991) or bilingual education (Arenas, 1980), while others are pervasive and comprehensive in scope ("Avoid," 1991; Banks & Banks, 1989). In their work on psychosocial pressures of adolescence, Phelan, Yu, and Davidson (1994) cite several specific strategies and programs that have been identified and implemented to override the negative effects associated with low socioeconomic status and language and cultural barriers (Abi-Nader, 1990; Heath, 1982; Scarcella, 1990; Sleeter, 1991; Trueba, 1988; Trueba, Moll, Diaz, & Diaz, 1982; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp 1987).

There have been controversies about the conceptualization of literacy based on or affected by the knowledge of culture and concern about a potential reacculturation (Schear, 1992). There have been controversies about the problems that teachers face in addressing racial and multicultural issues (Wilson, 1991), in expecting students to make adjustments without making any for them (Schear, 1992), in failing to represent American life adequately, and in whether or how to teach techniques for dealing with bias ("Avoid," 1991). There have also been controversies about attempting to standardize a developmentally appropriate curriculum in a multicultural learning community (Bowman, 1989).

Attempts to explain and solve the problems in multicultural education have explored the roles of educational, social, and psychological values in relation to the aims of multiculturalism (Wilson, 1991). Confusion about the different meanings of culture, and lack of recognition of Western culture's inextricable dependence upon other cultures to the extent that multiculturalism is seen as synonymous with our nation's survival, is the reason that

Trachtenberg (1990) attributes to an ongoing debate over "traditionalist" Western cultural values versus "leftist" multicultural values.

In response to the various controversies and problems in conceptualizing and implementing multicultural education, multiculturalists have attempted to provide appropriate goals and direction for related efforts. They have indicated a need: (1) to foster creativity and critical thinking in relation to social issues (Molnar, 1987); (2) to renew self-consciousness of ethnic groups from many generations through a "new ethnicity" that demonstrates sensitivity to others in their differences, develops consciousness-raising about one's own ethnic group, demonstrates a willingness to share in social and political needs of groups to which one is culturally tied, and develops a "public and popular humanities" touching various ethnic groups (Novak, 1977); (3) to look at human diversity with social justice instead of equal opportunity (Gordon, 1976); and (4) to recognize that Americans belong to many different kinds of ethnic groups, depending upon interrelationships between culture, nationality, race, and other factors such as social, economic, and, political conditions within the society (Banks & Gay, 1975).

As the multicultural movement has gained momentum, there has been substantial emphasis in the literature on forging meaningful links between relevant theoretical perspectives and actual classroom practices (Montero-Sieburth, 1988). This emphasis has been characterized by a call for: (1) illuminating the historical perspective on the role of cultural pluralism in U.S. history (Young, 1991) through the use of Banks' (1985) model of ethnic revitalization; (2) an improved understanding of how parents and teachers should share the responsibility of enhancing children's multicultural awareness and keeping the learning environment consistently multiethnic (SACUS, 1990); and (3) providing future and in-service teachers with knowledge, insight, and understanding needed to work effectively with students in response to issues of gender, exceptionality, social class, religion, ethnicity, and culture (Banks & Banks, 1989).

One way of putting theory into practice is to include ethnic identity development in diagnostic profiles of students along with mental, moral, emotional, psychological, and physiological development to monitor "readiness," particularly for ethnic minority students ("Stages," 1983). This specific perspective on practice is reiterated in Gay's (1985) suggestion that models of ethnic identity development provide educators with frameworks for making decisions about introducing materials on ethnicity.

To date, efforts to accomplish multicultural educational reform have been characterized most often by superficial, additive, and celebratory approaches focusing mainly on the contributors (heroes) or victims within a cultural milieu (Banks 1991; Nieto 1992). The additive approach is one in which units of study on different ethnic groups have been appended to the regular curriculum at specially scheduled intervals in the school year. These units have often been celebratory in the sense that some individual or group has been viewed in a larger-than-life way that merits admiration but is somewhat removed from the imminent realities and personal issues that students face regarding their ethnicity and culture.

To some extent, these limited approaches have been harnessed by long-standing doubts about whether educators should assume responsibility for addressing the most profound reaches of the affective domain as a part of the teaching process. Because of this hesitancy, perhaps, child development research has told us that we should teach specific content to specific groups, but frequently has been nonspecific in telling us what that content should be (Spodek, 1989). At the same time, other researchers and theorists have indicated that there is a particular need for reading material and instruction that is relevant to the sociocultural contexts of students and their world (Banks, 1981, 1986; Baptiste, 1979). This need is particularly voiced in the movement toward multicultural social reconstructionist education reform (Sleeter & Grant, 1988).

Three main emphases in approaches to selecting materials for multicultural literacy instruction have been: (1) richness of materials; (2) authenticity of materials (Lewis, 1994); and (3) a focus on information for social action (Banks, 1991; Nieto, 1992). However, very little emphasis has been placed on the interface between students' stages of ethnic identity development and the content of literature used for reading, language arts, social studies, or any other areas of multicultural literacy and competence. Neither has there been documentation of efforts to achieve comprehensive coverage of the entire range of issues embodied in the stages of Banks' typology when selecting materials and providing instruction, especially when matching the specific needs of each student may not have been possible.

The theoretical framework of this study is based on the assumption that reading engagement is driven by affective variables of interest, attitude, and values which operate synergistically, and that these variables are inextricably related to two other variables: ethnic identity development and locus of control. It is further assumed that this interaction of variables is particularly relevant to the development not only of literacy for children of ethnic and racial minority backgrounds, but also multicultural competencies and multicultural literacy for all learners.

The following discussions will delineate the constructs of affect, ethnic identity development, locus of control, reading engagement, and their interrelationships.

Aspects of the Affective Domain

Hesitancy to explore the affective has been acknowledged in early literature on the development of the taxonomy of objectives for the affective domain: "What is missing is a systematic effort to collect evidence of growth in affective objectives which is in any way parallel to the very great and systematic efforts to evaluate cognitive achievement" (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1964, pp. 15–16). The discussion accounts for the inadequacy of grading techniques for such purposes. Although grading is not the issue here, Krathwohl et al. do go on to conclude that "achievement, competency, productivity, etc., are regarded as public matters [whereas]. . .one's beliefs, attitudes, values, and personality are more likely to be regarded as private matters, except in the most extreme instances already noted

[unusual characteristics or dramatic developments]" (pp. 17-18). This view explains, in part, a prevailing hesitancy to address values particularly related to ethnicity in curriculum design and implementation.

Essential to the taxonomy of objectives in the affective domain are three interrelated constructs relevant to the development of literacy in the multicultural context and otherwise. They are interest, attitude, and value. A paraphrased definition of each follows:

Interest—behavior ranging from merely being aware that a given phenomenon exists, through being increasingly willing to attend to a phenomenon, to being totally absorbed in it.

Attitude—behavior ranging from being willing to indicate having a positive feeling about something when asked about it, to going out of one's way to express the positive feeling, to seeking instances where one can communicate it to others.

Value—holds the same range of behaviors as 'attitude' but is often better described as a bundle of attitudes organized into an attitude cluster of a value complex. (Krathwohl et al., 1964, p.25)

With regard to multicultural competencies and developing literacy in a multicultural context, the constructs of interest, attitude, and value prompt us to sharpen our focus on issues of culture such as ethnicity. In pursuits of multicultural competence and multicultural literacy, it would seem that interests, attitudes, and values that individuals (students and teachers) have about their own ethnic group and about other ethnic groups are unavoidable and critical in developing literacy in multicultural contexts. Rotheram & Phinney (1987) indicate that "although ethnic identity is conceptualized as a cognitive component of one's ethnic identity, it is inevitably connected with affective or evaluative aspects" (p. 17). This premise is supported by Vaughan's (1987) observation that as children's awareness of group differences increases, self-identification and acceptance of one's own group increases. Further support is provided by the work of Rosenthal, Moore, & Taylor (1983), indicating that the more secure adolescents are in their own identity, the more positive they are in their attitudes toward other groups. Thus, aspects of the affective domain such as interest, attitude, and value are embodied in the constructs of ethnic identity development and locus of control.

Typologies of Ethnic Identity Development

In response to the issue of ethnic identity, stage models and typologies delineating the stages of development have been structured to chart the ways in which our thinking evolves about ethnicity. Research and theory have generated stage models that focus on the acquisition of ethnic identity and attitudes in children (Aboud, 1977; Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976; Porter, 1971), which occurs primarily during the third to tenth years of childhood. These models are based on a developmental progression in ways of perceiving, processing, and interpreting racial or ethnic stimuli. Additional research and theory focus on changes in ethnic identity that occur as individuals mature beyond childhood. Thomas (1971) and Cross (1971, 1978), both theorists in the field of

counseling psychology, have provided typologies that address African-American (Black) identity in four and five psychological stages, respectively. Helms (1990) has provided a typology addressing European-American (White) identity development in six psychological stages. These typologies delineate ego development in ethnic identity rather than the acquisition of ethnic identity.

From a social science and curriculum perspective (one more relevant to pedagogy), Banks (1977, 1981) has delineated a typology of ethnic identity development that has several practical advantages for the development of multicultural competencies and the development of literacy in a multicultural context. First, the typology is generalizable to all ethnic groups. Second, the nature and scope of perceptions of one's own ethnic group and other ethnic groups is delineated, rather than the mere acquisition or ego development of one's identity. Third, the typology embodies a set of curriculum goals for fostering appropriate development at each stage. Finally, it is applicable to individuals of all ages.

Banks describes his typology of ethnic identity development as "an ideal-type conceptualization in the Weberian sense [for which] continua exist both between and within levels" (1988). The typology is based on existing theory and research and the author's study of ethnic behavior in several nations (Banks, 1978). The construct does not specify a sequential progression of development, as in cognitive development. It is indicated that an individual may progress or regress across stages at various times. However, the very nature of the elements of each stage seems to indicate that a comprehensive foundation in the earlier stages enhances development in later stages (just as it is suggested in bilingual education theory that a comprehensive foundation in the basic grammar of one's first language facilitates mastery of other languages).

Six stages are defined in the typology, and each stage is accompanied with suggested curriculum goals.

Stage 1: *Ethnic Psychological Captivity* is the stage at which the individual experiences ethnic self-rejection and low self-esteem, believes negative ideologies about his or her own culture, and may strive to become highly culturally assimilated. Banks suggests that curriculum appropriate for the enhancement of ethnic identity development in learners at this stage should be monoethnic in content and supplemented by strategies for moral development and decision making.

Stage 2: *Ethnic Encapsulation* is the stage at which the individual believes in ethnic exclusiveness and voluntary separatism, believes in the superiority of his or her own group, and may feel that his or her way of life is threatened by other ethnic groups. At this stage, it is suggested that the learner be involved in curricular experiences accepting of and empathizing with ethnic identities and hostile feelings toward outside groups, and including strategies for dealing with hostile feelings in constructive ways.

Stage 3: *Ethnic Identity Clarification* is the stage characterized by the acceptance of self and the ability to accept positive aspects of one's own ethnic group and to clarify internal conflicts about one's own group. It is suggested that development in this stage would benefit

from curricular experiences designed to reinforce emerging ethnic identity and clarification, with an emphasis on values clarification and moral development.

Stage 4: *Biethnicity* is the stage at which the individual functions effectively in two cultures and demonstrates an orientation toward a more multiethnic and pluralistic view of society. In this stage, it is suggested that the learner can benefit from curricula that aid mastery of concepts and generalizations related to another ethnic group and that provide strategies to relate positively to another ethnic group and one's own.

Stage 5: *Multiethnicity* and *Reflective Nationalism* is the stage at which the individual has a clarified ethnic self-identity and a positive attitude toward other ethnic and racial groups. The individual is self-actualized, able to function at minimal meaningful levels within several ethnic environments, and can appreciate and share the values, symbols, and institutions of several cultures. For this stage, Banks suggests curricula to help develop a global sense of ethnic literacy relating to a wide range of ethnic groups in a multiethnic environment and including strategies using moral dilemmas and case studies.

Stage 6: *Globalism* and *Global Competency* is the stage at which the individual demonstrates reflective and positive ethnic, national, and global identifications, and the knowledge, skills, and commitment needed to function within cultures. Banks' suggestion for this stage is a curricular focus on knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function within one's group, the nation, and the world, and a focus on understanding which allegiance—whether ethnic, national, or global—is most appropriate in a given situation.

In a study based on the development of an instrument to tap Banks' stages of ethnic identity development for secondary teachers, Ford (1979) found that teachers were distributed differently among the stages. Among subjects aged 20 to 66 of European-American, Native-American, and African-American descent (in descending order of representation), Ford found that younger, middle, and older respondents showed an equal tendency toward Stage 3. However, a higher concentration of individuals were identified in Stage 2 by both age and ethnicity, and very few individuals were identified in Stages 4 and 5.

Locus of Control

Locus of control is a polar construct that refers to the degree to which an individual views success and failure as either contingent upon behaviors or independent of them. It is constructed on the basis of Rotter's (1966) definition of internal/external control of reinforcement dimensions, which include interpersonal areas such as affiliation, achievement, and dependency. According to Rotter (1954), the effect of reinforcement depends on whether or not the person perceives a causal relationship between his/her own behavior and the reward. Individuals who believe that success and failure are due to external factors, such as luck, fate, chance, and significant others, are said to have an external locus of control. Individuals who believe that they control their successes and failures by internal factors, such as ability

and effort, are said to have an internal locus of control.

Nielsen and Long (1981) indicate that the primary difference between high and low achievers is students' attitudes, and that an important component of students' attitudes is their locus of control orientation. Internal locus of control has been associated with success in school, since learning-disabled students attain external locus of control scores significantly more often than other students (Chapman & Boersma, 1979; Hallahan, Gajar, Cohen, & Tarver, 1978; Pearl, Bryan, & Donahue, 1980). Externality has been related to lower socioeconomic status, minority group membership, and physical handicaps (Franklin, 1963; Graves, 1961; Joe, 1972; Pentecoste, 1975; Powell & Vega, 1972). Research by Battle and Rotter (1963) relates locus of control to social class rather than to ethnicity, with findings indicating that both middle-class European Americans and African Americans are significantly more internal than lower-class African Americans. Research findings of Duke and Nowicki (cited in Nowicki & Strickland, 1972) suggest that externality is related to prejudice and internality is related to tolerance toward other races.

In terms of differences in cognitive activity between internals and externals, Lefcourt (1976) has concluded that internals are more perceptive and ready to learn about their surroundings, more inquisitive, more curious, and better processors of information than externals. In Rotter's (1966) analysis the consequence of externality is that the child will not learn from experience unless s/he believes that it is lawfully related to action. According to Rotter, this consequence is often associated with a less responsive and less opportune environment, poverty, ostracism, and deprivation, creating a climate of fatalism and helplessness. Rotter's analysis is supported by Banks' (1987) review of the literature in which he concludes that, although research indicates that cognitive and learning styles are influenced by ethnicity, "whether students believe that they can exert control over their environment appears to be related more to their socioeconomic status than to their ethnic socialization or culture" (p. 14). However, Banks (1985) has also indicated that a substantial proportion of members of ethnic minority groups are individuals of low socioeconomic status.

The relationship of locus of control to the issue of developing literacy in multicultural contexts is also evident in studies that show behavioral as well as indirect verbal indicators of locus of control can be changed by training directed at increasing a sense of personal causation (DeCharms, 1972; Reimanis, 1971). In a study conducted by DeCharms, evidence was obtained indicating that personal causation affected the ways in which children produced imaginative stories. After training, the characters in the stories were described more often as setting their own goals, determining their own instrumental activity, being more realistic, and being more self-confident. DeCharms also found that students involved in the causation training did not lose ground in achievement scores as they proceeded from fifth to seventh grade, as did control group children.

Achievement has often been linked with motivation. Motivation, in turn, has been linked to locus of control orientation (Lefcourt

1992). A variance of locus of control manifestations among minorities (particularly African Americans) versus Whites remains debatable (Dyal, 1984; Graham, 1994). In comparisons of several studies of locus of control, Graham (1994) finds that "[t]he studies with children are somewhat more supportive of the hypothesis of racial differences in locus of control than is the adult literature . . . although far from definitive" (p. 78).

Reading Engagement and Its Interrelationship with Ethnicity Orientation and Locus of Control

According to Alvermann and Guthrie (1993), the concept of reading engagement is based on the assumption that:

> "students acquire the competencies and motivations to read for diverse purposes, such as gaining knowledge, performing a task, interpreting an author's perspective, sharing reactions to stories and informational texts, escaping into the literary world, or taking social and political action in response to what is read." (p. 3)

Alvermann and Guthrie (1993) indicate that this perspective is also based on the assumption that "[h]ighly engaged readers are motivated, knowledgeable, and socially interactive" (p. 3). Thus, the literature acknowledges a link between motivation and reading achievement. Motivation is a reflection of factors in the affective domain such as interest, attitude, and values (as defined above).

In the interest of multicultural competence and the development of literacy in a multicultural context, it should stand to reason that one's interests, attitudes, and values regarding the issues, as well as surface features of other ethnic groups or cultures, will be a function of one's knowledge and understanding about one's own ethnic group. Why should learners be expected to be highly motivated to learn extensively or appreciate intensely information on other cultures when information about their own culture is neglected or treated superficially?

It should also stand to reason that, if internal or external locus of control orientation is a function of the extent to which one perceives a causal relationship between one's own efforts and one's successes and failures, and locus of control is reflective of level of motivation, then knowledge and understanding of one's own ethnic group should also enhance one's level of motivation. Ultimately, this could foster an internal locus of control and an increased level of reading engagement. If reading engagement involves taking social and political action in response to what is read, then how can we expect learners who are not empowered to understand the issues of their own and other ethnic and cultural groups to exercise an internal locus of control; that is, to see the relationship between their efforts and their successes and failures, and to be motivated to take action accordingly?

If strong foundations in ethnic identity orientation foster motivation toward higher levels of reading engagement, an increase in reading engagement should, in turn, result in additional exposure to and interest in other ethnic groups. Increases in interest level, positive attitudes, or positive value sets regarding other ethnic groups should enhance motivation for increasing one's knowledge base

regarding other ethnic groups. Finally, an increased knowledge base—one that includes expanded knowledge about various ethnic groups and their cultures—should result in an increase in achievement level (see Figure 1).

In sum, it would seem that success in raising the achievement level of ethnic minority learners and other learners is, in part, contingent upon the extent to which we help learners find themselves in materials and discussion relevant to their cultures, and then to other cultures. Meaningful and conscientiously guided experiences of this kind should contribute to the enhancement of the learner's knowledge base, self-awareness, self-esteem, motivation, locus of control orientation, and reading engagement level.

To date, there is no documentation on the application of Banks' typology of ethnic identity to assorted literature, or to reading or language arts instruction guided by this typology, or on its effects. Although there has been extensive documentation of the relevance of the theory and its potential for fostering innovative instruction, its practical applications are not reported in the area of literacy development or in the domain of reading education.

Research Questions for the Long-Term Study

Research questions that drive the long-term study are as follows. (1) Does the selective use of reading materials characteristic of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development foster increased interests, positive attitudes, or positive habits related to reading? (2) Does the stage of ethnic identity development of an individual change after extensive exposure to selective reading materials characteristic of any of the stages of the typology? (3) Do the reading materials classified by the typology enhance students' multicultural awareness and/or capacity for interacting in multicultural settings in observable ways? In order to answer these questions, the study is divided into three phases, each with its own subset of related questions and tasks.

Phase one involves the collection of descriptive data on elementary and middle-grade students' reading engagement level and their locus of control in relationship to their stage of ethnic identity development and other demographic variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, and geographical location. Phase one also involves additional baseline data collection to determine how much of the traditional reading material and how much of the discussion in these students' classrooms included content related to the curriculum goals of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development. This report provides information on the results of data collection in phase one of the study.

Phase One: Question One: Students

The research question that drives data collection for descriptive and baseline information on student variables and the relationships of these variables is as follows: What are the relationships between elementary and middle-grade students' reading engagement level, locus of control, stage of ethnic identity development, and demographic variables such as age, gender, ethnicity and geographic location?

Methods

Participants. Students and teachers from five states (Florida, North Carolina, New York, Ohio, and Virginia) participated in the study. The 346 students, including 155 males and 191 females, ranged in age from 9 to 14. Students identified themselves as African American, Hispanic American, American Indian, European American, or Other. "Other" consisted of students who self-selected this category and then specified that they were born in the Caribbean, South America, or Arabic speaking countries. Of the 14 teachers participating in the study, 5 were African American, 5 European American, 3 Hispanic American, and 1 was Arabic American.

Measures. All measures were administered by the researcher at each school site. Items were administered orally and standard instructions were used. Students were encouraged to ask for clarification if needed. In the Spanish and Arabic speaking groups receiving bilingual instruction, the bilingual teacher repeated each item in the students' first language.

Measuring ethnic identity development. The Teacher-Student Interaction instrument for Children (TSI-C) was adapted from the adult version of the TSI originally developed by Ford (1979). The TSI-C consists of 35 Likert scale items designed to assess children's stage of ethnic identity development according to Banks' typology. The children's version, like the adult version, was designed to determine stage of development up to and including Stage 5. By asking for responses ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree," the items assess subjects' perceptions on interaction with individuals from groups other than their own, on the extent to which they trust individuals from their own group more than others, on feeling comfortable or uncomfortable about being with groups in which they are in the minority, on learning about and celebrating the customs and characteristics of others, and on their perceptions of personal success in relationship to their teacher's identity. Essentially, the instrument is designed to examine respondents' feelings about their own group and people from other groups rather than their knowledge of other groups.

Measuring reading engagement. The reading attitude, interest, and habit survey constitutes a modified version of the Reading Attitude Inventory (Dulin & Chester, 1979). The instrument consists of 43 questions in Likert-scale, fill-in, point distribution, and open-ended format. It is designed to assess responses related to: (1) reading activities indicating "very like me" to "very unlike me"; (2) quantity and preference of reading materials; (3) ways materials are obtained; and (4) reading-related values and activities ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree."

A subset of questions was used as an indicator of reading engagement level. These fill-in questions addressed respondents' habits in terms of number of books read over various spans of time, genres read, number and titles of magazines read per month, number of books owned, ways of choosing books (including personal sources of recommendations), as well as library card ownership and frequency of borrowing. The lowest to highest scores of the total sample are divided into ranges of low, moderate, and high engagement, and students are ranked in comparison to other members of the sample.

Table 1. Age and Stages of Ethnicity

	Age									
	9		10		11		12-14			
Stages of Ethnicity	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	Stage Totals	
Ethnic Psychological Captivity			2.9	3	4.2	4	5.2	5	3.5%	12
Ethnic Encapsulation	12.0	6	12.7	13	27.4	26	20.6	20	18.9%	65
Ethnic Identity Clarification	46.0	23	52.0	53	38.9	37	51.5	50	47.4%	163
Bi-Ethnicity	42.0	21	32.4	33	29.5	28	21.6	21	29.9%	103
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism							1.0	1	.3%	1
Age Group Totals*	14.5%	50	29.7%	102	27.6%	95	28.2%	97	100.0%	344

Note. *2 students did not identify age

Measuring locus of control. The children's version of the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scales (Nowicki & Strickland, 1972) consists of 26 "yes" or "no" items designed to assess locus of control on a continuum from internal to external orientation. The instrument indicates whether individuals attribute successes and failures to personal efforts or to luck, fate, chance, or significant others. The items explore respondents' perceptions of concepts such as believing that there is nothing one can do to gain the friendship of others, having a good luck charm, believing that individuals who are good at something are just born that way, or believing that it is better to be lucky than to be smart.

Measuring interrelationships of scores and other variables. In addition to the analysis of each of the measures described above, analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine whether there were significant differences in mean scores on stages of ethnic identity development between genders, among age groups, and among ethnic groups. ANOVA and Pearson correlations corroborate the frequency data. Bivariate correlation analysis was used to determine the strength of correlations between selected variables.

Results

Students' ages and ethnicities are reported in Tables 1 and 2 respectively.

Age and ethnic identity development. Table 1 reports the number and percent of

Table 2. Ethnicity* and Stages of Ethnicity

	Ethnicity									
	AFAM		HISAM		EURAM		OTHER			
Stages of Ethnicity	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	Stage Totals	
Ethnic Psychological Captivity	1.6	2	7.7	7	2.3	2	3.1	1	3.5%	12
Ethnic Encapsulation	10.3	13	42.9	39	8.0	7	21.9	7	19.6%	66
Ethnic Identity Clarification	51.6	65	31.9	29	48.3	42	59.4	42	46.1%	155
Bi-Ethnicity	36.5	46	17.6	16	40.2	35	15.6	35	30.3%	102
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism					1.1	1			.2%	1
Ethnic Group Totals**	36.7%	126	26.5%	91	25.4%	87	9.3%	32	100.0%	336

Note. *3 Asian Americans and 4 American Indians are omitted due to smallness of subsamples
**3 subjects did not identify an ethnic group

students ages 9–14 distributed across Stages 1 through 5 of Banks' typology. Stage of ethnic identity development is measured by a modified version of the Teacher-Student Interaction instrument. There are three major findings related to age.

First, among stages of ethnic identity development, the greatest cluster of students (47%) is found in Stage 3, Ethnic Identity Clarification, across ages 9–14. The smallest proportion of this Stage 3 cluster is found at age 9 (14%). The rest of the Stage 3 cluster is distributed as follows: age 10 (33%); 11 (23%); and 12–14 (31%).

Second, although there is a considerably larger subset of students age 10 or older, the older age groups have smaller proportions of students identified in the higher levels of Banks' stages of ethnic identity development.

Third, there is only one student identified in Stage 5, and this student is in the highest age group, 12–14 years.

Analysis of variance between the dependent variable of raw score for stage of ethnic identity development and the independent variable of age indicates a significant difference in mean scores obtained on stages of ethnic identity development for age groups ($F = 3.33$, $p < .02$). Lower stages are associated with higher age.

Ethnicity and ethnic identity development. Table 2 reports the number and percent of

Table 3. Gender and Stages of Ethnicity

	Gender					
	Male		Female			
Stages of Ethnicity	%	*N*	%	*N*	Stage Totals	
Ethnic Psychological Captivity	3.2	5	3.7	7	3.5%	12
Ethnic Encapsulation	21.9	34	16.8	32	19.1%	66
Ethnic Identity Clarification	48.4	75	46.1	88	47.1%	163
Bi-Ethnicity	25.8	40	33.5	64	30.1%	104
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism	.6	1			.3%	1
Gender Totals	33.5%	116	24.0%	83	100.0%	346

students, by ethnicity, distributed across the stages of Banks' typology. There are five major findings.

First, among stages of ethnic identity development, across five ethnic groups and a category of students who self-identified as "Other," the greatest proportion of all students (47%) is found at Stage 3, Ethnic Identity Clarification, including all members in the Asian-American and American-Indian subsamples.

Second, there is a greater proportion of Hispanic-American students in Stage 1, Ethnic Psychological Captivity, than African Americans, European Americans, or those students who self-categorized as "Other." A substantial proportion (43%) of the Hispanic-American subsample is also identified at Stage 2, Ethnic Encapsulation, as compared to the other ethnic subgroups.

Third, the proportions of African-American and European-American students increases in each progressive stage of ethnic identity development until Stage 3, Ethnic Identity Clarification.

Fourth, although a considerably smaller subset of the total sample, the group with the highest proportion of representation in Stage 3, and also the highest concentration for the total sample of students in Stage 3, is the group categorized as "Other."[1]

[1]Students who self-categorized as "Other" are those with parents who were not U.S.-born, or those who were born in a non-European country themselves.

Table 4. Geographical Regions and Stages of Ethnicity

	Geographical Regions									
	FL		NC		NY		OH			
Stages of Ethnicity	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	Stage Totals	
Ethnic Psychological Captivity			4.2	3	2.2	3	7.7	6	3.5%	12
Ethnic Encapsulation	9.4	5	8.5	6	8.6	12	52.6	41	18.7%	64
Ethnic Identity Clarification	39.6	21	63.4	45	48.2	67	35.9	28	47.2%	161
Bi-Ethnicity	50.9	27	22.5	16	41.0	57	3.8	3	30.2%	103
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism			1.4	1					.2%	1
Region Totals	15.3%	53	20.5%	71	40.2%	139	22.5%	78	100.0%	341

Fifth, the only student identified at Stage 5 is European American.

Analysis of variance between the dependent variable of raw score for stage of ethnic identity development and the independent variable of ethnicity indicates a highly significant difference in mean scores obtained on stages of ethnic identity for ethnic groups ($F = 9.57$, $p < .001$), with more Hispanic Americans at lower stages as compared to African Americans and European Americans.

Gender and ethnic identity development. The distribution of gender across stages of ethnic identity development in the total sample is reported in Table 3. There are three major findings.

First, for the subsamples of males ($N = 155$) and females ($N = 191$) there is almost the same proportion of each gender identified at Stage 1 and Stage 3 of ethnic identity development. Second, there is a greater proportion of males at Stage 2 and a greater proportion of females at Stage 4. Third, the only student identified at Stage 5 is a European-American male.

Analysis of variance between the dependent variable of raw score for stage of ethnic identity development and the independent variable of gender indicates no significant difference in mean scores obtained on stages of ethnic identity development between gender ($F = 0.54$, $p = ns$). However, there are notable differences between proportions of males versus females in Stages 2 and 4.

Recent research by Phelan et al. (1994), which investigates the psychosocial pressures of adolescent youth, also supports the often

Table 5. Level of Reading and Stages of Ethnicity

	Low		Mod		High			
Stages of Ethnicity	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	Stage Totals	
Ethnic Psychological Captivity	2.0	3	4.3	5	4.8	4	3.5%	12
Ethnic Encapsulation	29.3	43	13.8	16	8.4	7	19.1%	66
Ethnic Identity Clarification	48.3	71	50.0	58	41.0	34	47.1%	163
Bi-Ethnicity	19.7	29	31.9	37	45.8	38	30.1%	104
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism	.7	1					.3%	1
Level Totals	42.5%	147	33.5%	116	24.0%	83	100.0%	346

documented pattern of difficulties experienced or perceived by African-American or other ethnic minority group males. The authors categorize students into groups labeled congruent worlds/smooth transitions, different worlds/border crossings managed, different worlds/border crossings difficult, and different worlds/border crossings resisted. There are no males from minority ethnic groups identified in the congruent worlds/smooth transitions group, although there are academicallly average students as well as high-achieving and minority females in this group. This recent research on students' perceptions of how they traverse family, peer, and school worlds in terms of culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or religion, together with data indicating that minority males do not fare as well as their peers and other research on gender issues, substantiates the difference in distribution of gender across stages of ethnic identity development. It also reflects an ongoing pattern for minority males—enough to warrant concern.

Geographic region and ethnic identity development. Table 4 reports the distribution of students by geographic location across the stages of ethnic identity development. It should be noted that the classrooms in Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia were located in suburban areas with a balanced mix of students from working-class and middle-class backgrounds. The classrooms in New York and Ohio were located in more urban areas with a greater proportion of students from working-class backgrounds than middle-class backgrounds. There are three major findings.

Table 6. Locus of Control and Stages of Ethnicity

	Locus of Control					
	External		Internal			
Stages of Ethnicity	%	*N*	%	*N*	Stage Totals	
Ethnic Psychological Captivity	2.5	4	4.2	8	3.5%	12
Ethnic Encapsulation	21.7	34	16.9	32	19.1%	66
Ethnic Identity Clarification	41.4	65	51.9	98	47.1%	163
Bi-Ethnicity	34.4	54	26.5	50	30.1%	104
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism			.5	1	.3%	1
Locus Totals	33.5%	116	24.0%	83	100.0%	346

First, in the Ohio subsample the greatest proportion of students cluster in Stage 2 of ethnic identity development. This subsample also holds the greatest proportion of students in Stages 1 and 2 as compared to the other states.

Second, in the North Carolina and New York subsamples the greatest proportion of students cluster in Stage 3, but North Carolina holds the greatest proportion of students that cluster in Stage 3 as compared to the other states.

Third, the only student identified in Stage 5 of ethnic identity development belongs to the North Carolina subsample.

Reading engagement level and ethnic identity development. Table 5 reports the number and percent of students with low, moderate, and high levels of reading engagement distributed across the stages of Banks' typology. Reading engagement is measured by a modified version of the Reading Attitude Inventory, which includes a section on extent of engagement in a variety of reading-related activities. There are two major findings.

First, at Stage 3 (Ethnic Identity Clarification), where the greatest number of students in the total sample cluster, more students are identified as least engaged readers (43%) and fewer are identified as highly engaged (20%).

Second, at Stage 4 (Bi-Ethnicity), there is a smaller proportion of least engaged students (18%) and a greater proportion of highly

engaged students (37%). Thus, reading engagement level appears to increase with stage of ethnic identity development.

Locus of control and ethnic identity development. Table 6 reports the number and percent of students with external or internal locus of control distributed across the stages of Banks' typology. Locus of control is measured by the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scales. There are three important findings.

First, the greatest number of students of either internal (52%) or external (41%) locus of control cluster at Stage 3 of ethnic identity development, Ethnic Identity Clarification. Second, a greater proportion of students with external (22%) locus of control than those with internal (17%) locus of control is found at Stage 2 of ethnic identity development, Ethnic Encapsulation.

Third, the only student identified in Stage 5 of ethnic identity development, Multiethnicity, indicated an internal locus of control.

Phase One: Question Two: Reading Materials

The research question that drives data collection for descriptive and baseline information on core reading materials used in participating students' classrooms is as follows: To what extent do the materials used for reading or language arts instruction in the students' classes reflect characteristics or ideologies of any of the stages of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals?

Methods

The following procedures were used to determine the extent to which the materials used for reading or language arts instruction in the students' classes reflect characteristics or ideologies of any of the stages of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals. A list of the core literature that would be used for reading or language arts instruction was obtained from the teacher of each participating class.[2] From the combined list of 122 stories, 13 stories (randomly selected from those most frequently cited) were read and coded on an interrater basis (two readers) for ideas, events, interaction, or dialogue characteristic of or relevant to the ideologies in each stage of Banks' typology of ethnic identity.

The coding procedure involved three steps applied to each piece of literature. First, instances of elements relevant to each stage of the typology were tallied. Second, the number of instances for each stage was totalled. Third, comparisons of totals for instances of each stage in the story were made to determine which stage(s) had the most representation in the content of the story. The interrater reliability was .80.

Results

Qualitative and quantitative data obtained from the analysis of core literature used by

[2]The term "core literature" indicates those materials on the teacher's syllabus that were to be used with the entire class.

teachers in the participating classrooms reveal interesting findings. Of the 13 books examined on an interrater basis, 46% (6 books) contained concepts that correspond to or are potentially useful for fostering the ideologies of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals by addressing issues of cultural or group values.[3] Only 23% of the stories (3) actually contained characters of at least two different ethnic groups who are depicted as individuals faced with the challenge of understanding or resolving cultural values or conflicts. Only 8% (1 book) included an ethnic minority character who played an active role in the story. The following sample provides one example each of instructional material that has high or low correspondence to the ideologies of Banks' typology.

In *Caddie Woodlawn* by Carol Ryrie Brink, there is *high correspondence to the range of elements of Banks' typology*. The story depicts the life of a young girl who is a part of a pioneer family in the midwest. Tension and animosity are revealed between the pioneer American and American-Indian cultures (Stage 2). Class distinctions in the Old World are addressed (Stage 2). Caddie is constantly exploring and resolving her own ethnic identity (Stage 3). Her rapport with the Indian chief and members of his tribe is developed and is pivotal to the story (Stage 4). Views of the heritage of diverse groups are provided through glimpses of the lives of Irish and English ancestors, European-American settlers, and American Indians (Stage 5). There are decisions that Caddie makes about humanitarian loyalties to the Indians versus members of her own ethnic group (Stage 5). Finally, Caddie decides that she is a pioneer American in spite of her Old World ancestry and recent New England heritage (Stage 6).

Although this story has many elements related to a range of stages in Banks' theory of ethnic identity development and would provide exposure to the issues in each stage relevant to the heritage of many European-American learners, it would only provide an experience more limited to Stage 4 exposure, Bi-Ethnicity, for learners who are not European American.

In *Sarah Plain and Tall* by Patricia MacLachlan, there is *low correspondence to the range of elements of Banks' typology*. The story depicts the life of a young girl who leaves a seaside community and goes to be a "trial bride" with a new family in a farmland region of the country. The story contains elements that correspond to Stage 4 only, which are revealed in several brief comparisons of the lifestyle and environment of the farmland with that of the seaside that Sarah remembers. Sarah and her new family "try each other on for size," but they are not depicted as being from different ethnic backgrounds, and there is no focus on understanding values or resolving challenges of a culture other than their own. Sarah and her new family can be considered individuals from different geographical subcultures and, therefore, the analogy of a bi-ethnic

[3]It should be noted that concepts considered "potentially useful" for fostering ideologies of the typology and goals are those that do not directly depict cultures or values of any individuals or groups but rather those that could be used for such purposes by means of analogy or extrapolation.

experience can be drawn for instructional purposes. Although there are several Stage 4 elements in the story, Stages 1 through 3 are not addressed and there are no elements of Stages 5 or 6. Also, there are no characters from minority ethnic groups in the story.

It should be noted here that, since this story contains elements primarily related to issues of Stage 4 involving characters of European-American background, this story would, at best, provide only a Bi-Ethnic reading experience for both European-American and non-European-American learners.

Banks' typology of the stages of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals for these stages are useful in selecting material and guiding discussion. Whether the teacher is providing instruction to classroom groups composed of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds, to students of an ethnically homogeneous background, or to students on a one-to-one basis characterized by a match or difference of ethnic background between student and teacher, the typology and curriculum goals present a framework for understanding the levels of thinking that individuals experience in relating to their own culture and to individuals from other cultures. This framework can assist in the selection of culturally relevant and appropriate materials and discussion strategies from a developmental perspective.[4]

[4]A more detailed analysis and discussion of the collection of selected literature used in the study will be provided in a forthcoming Instructional Resource Report.

Phase One: Question Three: Classroom Discussions

The research question that drives data collection for descriptive and baseline information on discussion of story content in participating students' classrooms is as follows: How does discussion during instructional interaction reflect characteristics or ideologies of any of the stages of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals?

Methods

The following procedures were used to determine the extent to which discussion during instructional interaction was reflective or characteristic of ideologies of any of the stages of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals.

First, qualitative and quantitative data were obtained from tape recordings of teacher and student interaction made at approximately monthly intervals during reading, language arts, or social studies instruction. Participating teachers were asked to tape lessons that were "preferably ones that incorporate elements pertaining to cultures or cultural/group values," but were advised that the lesson content did not have to be of this nature if this was not possible. Transcripts of the tapes were analyzed to determine the extent to which the content of the interaction and material used corresponded to the ideologies of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals. A total of 37 transcripts were read and coded on an interrater basis (two readers) for discussion or oral reading of ideas,

events, interaction, or dialogue characteristic of or relevant to the ideologies in each stage of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development.

The coding procedure applied to the transcripts involved three steps. First, instances of elements relevant to each stage of the typology were tallied. Second, the number of instances for each stage was totalled. Third, the totals of instances for each stage were compared to determine which stage(s) had the most representation in the content of the story. The interrater reliability was .75.

Second, ethnographic techniques were used with a subset of the total sample (one class) to gather information about behaviors during reading and language arts or content area instruction and to collect additional environmental information. Qualitative data were collected through five visits to the same school site. During these visits the investigator recorded information on the physical layout of the classroom environment and the building, the nature of exchange between students and teacher during reading lessons, the nature of exchange between the researcher and students when the researcher assumed the role of participant-observer while conducting a read-aloud for the class, and other qualitative aspects of school activities and climate.

Samples of classroom or field activity analyzed for relevance to Banks' typology of stages and curriculum goals are presented from each of three different modes of data collection. Different classroom groups were targeted, representing a variety of ways in which we may find the presence or absence of content, talk, or activity that embodies the concepts of Banks' typology and curriculum goals.

Results

Of 14 participating teachers, 1 teacher returned tapings of eight lessons, 4 returned tapings of four to six lessons each, 5 returned tapings of one to two lessons, and 4 returned no tapes. Of those who returned no tapes, 1 teacher was European American, 1 African American, and 2 were Hispanic American. Among those teachers who did return tapings, there were 4 African Americans, 4 European Americans, 1 Hispanic American, and 1 Arabic American.

There was a total of 37 tapings. Only 30% of these tapings incorporated elements pertaining to cultures or cultural/group values. Of this 30%, less than half addressed concepts that correspond to the ideologies of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals. The following samples provide one example each of instructional interaction that has high or low correspondence to the ideologies of Banks' typology.

Very *high correspondence* to Banks' typology can be found in the following excerpt of a lesson that involved Puerto Rican students in a bilingual class taught by an Hispanic-American female in a northern state. The students were reading aloud *Life in Atlanta*, a story of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s (MLK Jr.) childhood, and answering related questions. The interaction between teacher and students provided an experience on the stage level of Bi-Ethnicity. The class was homogeneous in ethnic background (Hispanic American) and the content of the story and their discussion focused on another ethnic group (African Americans). At the same time, it addressed pertinent issues and

resolutions of cultural or group values and challenges.[5]

After oral reading in turns, between the teacher and the students, the teacher initiated discussion as follows.

T: OK, let's go to the questions, the purpose questions. What was life like for Martin Luther King, Jr. when he was growing up? ¿Que clase verdida . . . este nino quando en chiquito?

The students' responses indicated that they understood that he was faced with the challenge of not having the same rights as other people and that he learned facts about being Black. These are critical issues for many African Americans requiring conscientious exploration at a deeper level than that which students achieve when exploring the heroes, customs, traditions, dress, and foodways of a culture in many traditional multicultural units. Although the discussion of what life was like provided an experience that is primarily bi-ethnic for the students, the question and responses indicated that the teacher engaged them in Stage 2 (Ethnic Encapsulation) reflections on superiority and separatism.

In the following excerpt, the teacher gave positive reinforcement for the initial analysis provided by the students. She then prompted more specific thought on what MLK, Jr. learned provided by the students. She then prompted more specific thought on what MLK, Jr. learned about himself and others in his youth, and what he learned about the challenge of confronting racial inequities, particularly from his mother and his father.

T: Very good. What important things did he learn from his mother? What important things did he learn from his mother? O_____?

S: He learned about slavery and segregation.

T: And what does that mean? What's the meaning of slavery and segregation?

S: Slavery means the controlling of one people by another people.

T: And segregation?

S: It means that black people and white were apart.

Again, students explored Stage 2 (Ethnic Encapsulation) ideas of superiority and separatism. The discussion continued.

T: Did you find another thing that he learned from his mother?

S: To . . . (inaudible)

T: Can't hear you.

S: To stick up for himself.

T: You are just as good as anybody else. What important thing did he learn from his father?

S: He learned to stand up for was—what he believed was right.

[5]Because Bi-Ethnicity is not achieved in a one-time exposure to concepts about a group other than one's own, it should be noted that this teacher provided this class with additional literary experiences pertaining to individuals of African and African-American heritage as well as the cultural challenges that they have experienced.

At this point, the discussion shifted to Stage 3 concepts in terms of values clarification and moral development, although presented through the eyes of a character from a different culture than that of the students. The teacher elicited an elaboration on what the student meant by the last comment. The students identified reasons for standing up for what MLK, Jr., believed was right, as follows:

T: What is right, but for what?

S: For what he believed in.

S: For his freedom.

T: And what did he believe?

S: So they wouldn't be treating him like trash.

T: Exactly.

S: . . . (inaudible) . . .

T: I don't hear you C_____

S: It doesn't matter what he is on the outside—it's on the inside—how he feels.

Again, the discussion reinforced Stage 3 goals of values clarification and moral development.

Then, the teacher attempted to expand the students' conceptualization of segregation by getting them to identify its impact, at a particular point in time for MLK, Jr., with a specific instance that could be a part of the reality for youngsters like themselves.

T: Wonderful, C_____. When did Martin realize the meaning of the word segregation? P_____

S: Segregation—he realized it when he was playing with his friends and his friends told him that he couldn't play with them anymore. . . (inaudible) . . . that white people couldn't be seen with blacks.

At this juncture, the teacher asked the students to examine their social realities in a way that allows comparison and, possibly, sensitivity to the impact that the history of our society has on their current way of life. This is relevant to Stage 2 goals, which call for approaches that involve students in accepting and empathizing with ethnic identities and hostile feelings toward outside groups (in this case, feelings that African Americans may have).

T: Here, in the school—girls and boys. Girls? How many friends do you have here that are Black? Five? . . . (inaudible) . . . a lot of friends that are Black? . . . Do your parents let you play with them?

S: Yes.

T: In the playground; to go to parties; share with them the assignments; go together to the library; call to your home? OK.

Again, the teacher asked the students to do more than observe and interpret the circumstances of the character in the story. She asked them to put themselves in the shoes of the character faced with the social challenge and determine how they would respond—what they would do. The provocative challenge was as follows:

T: The last question—the conclusion of this selection is: think about what you would have done in his place. You see Martin Luther King suffering in his childhood and in his life, because he was Black. Imagine that you are Martin Luther King, Jr. What would you do in his place? C_____? You are Black and nobody likes you because you are Black. You want to go to school to have a good education and you have to stand for your rights, for your beliefs. In his place what do you do? Do you fight? Do you hit the white people? Do you change your color like (inaudible)? The color of his skin, because the white people like him more. All right. How do you think? What do you do in his place? Think about that, OK, O_____? O_____, what do you do in his place?

Here the teacher engaged the students in another important aspect of Stage 3 goals: generating strategies for dealing with hostile feelings in constructive ways. To this challenge, the students gave a range of responses:

S: I would do what anyone would do.

S: I wouldn't listen to them, because it doesn't matter because they still have the same . . . (inaudible)

S: I would fight for my freedom by making speeches, trying to get the rules changed, trying to speak to the government, and I would try to find my own friends, too.

Qualitative Data from One Elementary Classroom: Naturalistic Observation

Descriptive data obtained from one elementary school classroom in a northern state depict the environment and interaction of a bi-ethnic grouping of fifth graders, Hispanic-American and African-American, taught by an African-American female. The students are from middle-class and working-class backgrounds and the school is situated in an urban area of a major metropolitan city within a mixed, working-class to middle-class neighborhood. This classroom was visited at least five times for the purpose of collecting naturalistic data on classroom environment and interaction.

The *classroom environment* was created by various graphics and artifacts including picture posters, mottos, flags, a calendar, photos of the students and their families, and a mirror. There was a poster bearing the caption "It's Your World" with additional labels that read "future educators," "doctors," "lawyers," and "scientists." There was a poster bearing the motto "All Children Can Learn" which, incidentally, became the theme of the graduation ceremony at the end of the year. Placards of vocabulary word lists were posted. The caption "Who Am I?" was hung over a mirror on the coat closet door. There were portraits of Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson, the borough president, and the borough district attorney (all of minority group heritage similar to the students). There was a globe and there were bookshelves stacked with books, maps, model dinosaurs, seashells, and an aquarium. Names of states and capitols were hung across the front of the room and there was a non-traditional Christmas tree decorated with non-traditional objects.

The classroom environment invited students to engage in Stage 3 thinking (Ethnic Identity Clarification) in terms of the possibilities

suggested by the presence of posters of role models from their own ethnic group, pictures of themselves and family members, the suggestion of future careers, and the question "Who am I?" over the mirror. In other words, the classroom environment described above contributed to setting the tone and the expectations for the kinds of ideas and feelings that are explored through classroom talk: talk that does embody curriculum goals related to Stage 3 and other levels of Banks' stages of ethnic identity development.

During one instructional session, opportunities for Stage 3 thinking were engaged in a variety of ways. The teacher lead a discussion about things that have sentimental value or that represent the Christmas spirit. The teacher listened to the students' numerous mentions of materialistic items and then passed around the thing that she said she liked best—a piece of pine bark—for its fragrance. (This was an opportunity for enhancement of Stage 3 thinking—about what members of one's ethnic group value—particularly since a majority of the students share some of the same ethnic background as the teacher.)

There was additional discussion of news and current events, and subsequent talk about crimes and survival skills for potential victims. Students were asked to write two sentences summarizing their discussion in their journal before reading began. Consent slips for a field trip were collected. There was some random discussion of boyfriend and girlfriend issues among the students, to which the teacher responded in a serious tone: "You're too young to discuss this, not until after graduating from college!" (engendering positive Stage 3 thinking). While students took out their reader, the teacher congratulated one of them for missing only 5 out of 77 items on a standardized reading test (again, engendering positive Stage 3 thinking). Students were encouraged to do "picture reading" before they began the selected story. They were also reminded to observe good posture in their seats.

The story to be read, *The Peterkin Papers*, was accompanied by a picture of a family sitting for dinner. The teacher elicited class interpretations of the picture along with projections that included the possibility of a sexist/racist focus in the mother/maid stereotype. (An opportunity for moving from Stage 1 to Stage 3 thinking was engaged.) After turn-taking for oral reading, a Jewish male teacher entered and the students took out a map and other work to prepare with him for a museum visit focusing on knights in armour and Michaelangelo's work. (An opportunity for a Stage 4 experience was engaged.) Eventually, a discussion of *The Peterkin Papers* was resumed and then 10 min were provided for silent reading.

In another instructional session, the story *Chicken Sunday* was the focus. The teacher began by asking the students if she should read to them from a book that has information on someone's religion. She posed the rhetorical question, "Suppose it has great information?", and then answered, "I'll gamble on it."

As a prelude to the story, the teacher explained that there were different religions for different characters in the story. She then asked the class, "Where can cultures meet?" Responses included "foster homes," "relatives," "mother and father of different backgrounds." The teacher asked, "Whose

mother and father here come from different cultures—not necessarily different races?" (An opportunity for Stage 3 and Stage 4 thinking was engaged.) One student said, "My mother was raised in the U.S. and my father was raised in Puerto Rico." Another student said, "My mother is from Puerto Rico and my father is from South Carolina."

The teacher then posed a series of questions: "What religion is best?" "What culture is best?" "What culture is the smartest?", and reminded the class that they did not have to agree. (An opportunity to work through Stage 2 thinking was engaged.) Different students provided the following responses: "Christians, because my sister is and she treats me well," "You don't—you can't say which is best—you don't know them all enough," "No one is better—you can't judge." The teacher asked, "Who agrees with Elaine and who agrees with Eddie?" After some brief deliberation, she said, "Nothing is better, just . . . ." The class replied, "Different."

The teacher continued, "Are you sure you want me to read this book about a little Jewish girl and a Black family? Who would be comfortable bringing a Jewish person home?" (Stage 3 thinking was engaged as a prelude for Stage 4 thinking.) Student responses included: "Yes," "No," "I don't know if they would steal," "I think _____ is afraid," "I wouldn't, because I am a Christian and if they go to my church they might not understand my religion, and some Jewish parents don't want their kids visiting a Christian church because they don't believe in the religion," "Some Jews don't like Blacks because they blame them for violence and shooting," and "Jews say on T.V. that Muslims are bad."

The teacher asked, "Do you think that it is time for people to get along? Do you think that all people die the same way?" The Jewish male teacher arrived to take some of the students out of the room for another activity.

In a third instructional session, students turned to *Friday Night is Papa Night*. As students were reminded to do "picture reading," the question of why people of color were used in the theme of "Friday Night" was entertained. (Stage 1 or 3 thinking was engaged.) While students prepared to take turns reading aloud for an audiotaping, the teacher asked questions about the picture.

In response to questions interspersed during the oral readings, the students concluded that there was a kitchen and bedroom all in one, that some families still lived in one room, that it would be better to live in one room than be homeless or live in a shelter, and that the mother was cleaning up so that it was clean when Papa arrived. The teacher asked the class if anyone's father worked two jobs. Responses included: "Yes, librarian and sergeant," " doorman and odd jobs/repairman," "postal clerk and janitor." Students agreed with the teacher that any honest job is a good job. (Stage 3 thinking was stimulated.) Students took turns reading the story aloud.

At the end of the story, when the family enjoys a dinner together and concludes that it is like Christmas when Papa comes home, students clapped and the teacher said, "Do you see how the story turned out positive?" (breaking the mold of Stage 1 thinking based on stereotypes).

Finally, in another visit, the researcher assumed the role of participant-observer when invited to deliver a read-aloud during a school-wide "Read-Aloud Week." The researcher read selected excerpts from Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* and the entirety of her inaugural poem *On the Pulse of the Morning*. The children answered the researcher's questions interspersed during the novel excerpt. Consequently, the students concluded that Maya liked her brother very much, that they both liked reading very much (opportunities for Stage 3 thinking on values of members of a similar ethnic group were engaged), that Maya was inspired by different teachers, Black and White, in her life (Stage 4 thinking was stimulated), and that Uncle Willie made sure that they completed their homework when they were very young (a Stage 3 reflection). After listening to the entire inaugural poem, students answered a question asked at the beginning of the reading by concluding that Maya Angelou is concerned about all kinds of people (Stage 5 thinking was fostered).

Conclusions

Summary of Major Findings

Particular findings that bear most significance to the focus of the study were as follows:

- Of the total sample (N = 346) only one subject's responses placed him in Stage 5 of ethnic identity development, Multiethnicity and Reflective Nationalism. (This subject was a European American of internal locus of control in the 12–14 year age-group.)
- A majority of the sample clustered at Stage 3, Ethnic Identity Clarification, across age, gender, ethnicity, locus of control, and reading engagement.
- A greater proportion of Hispanic-American subjects was found in Stages 1 and 2 of ethnic identity development, Ethnic Psychological Captivity and Ethnic Encapsulation, as compared to the other ethnic groups.
- A majority of the subjects found in the lower stages of ethnic identity development (1, 2, 3) rated as least to moderately engaged readers as compared to their peers, while a greater number of subjects identified at a higher stage of ethnic identity development (Stage 4) rated as moderately to highly engaged readers.
- A relatively small percentage of audiotapings of instructional sessions addressed concepts corresponding to the ideologies of Banks' typology of ethnic identity development and curriculum goals.
- A relatively small percentage of the selected literature contained characters of at least two different ethnic groups or addressed challenges of understanding or resolving cultural values or conflicts.
- An extremely insignificant percentage of selected literature included an ethnic minority character who played an active role.
- A relatively small proportion of observations identified the use of materials, dis-

cussion, and related activities exemplifying ongoing attention to issues of ethnic identity development or multiculturalism at deeper levels of thought and action rather than the superficial treatment often characteristic of additive or celebratory approaches.

Discussion

The lack of representation of students in Stage 5, Multiethnicity, may be attributable to the difference between knowledge and sensitivity. Students may have some knowledge about their own and other cultures as a result of incidental learning or directed instruction, but this knowledge may not make them receptive to, appreciative of, or inclined to trust, celebrate, be involved with, or learn more about the concerns of others from different cultures. The instrument used to tap stages of ethnic identity development was designed to measure values (feelings) ascribed to issues of in-group and out-group identity and cultures rather than factual knowledge about groups or cultures.

Some students did not score high enough to be included in the Stage 5 or Stage 4 range of total points from the Likert scale responses. This is because of the nature of their responses to statements having to do with the importance of other people's cultures; the ways they decide who they will trust and with whom it is good to make friends; the ability to empathize with individuals who belong to groups that have had "hard times"; a level of comfort, trust, or safety in interacting with individuals from other groups; the importance of being fair to individuals from other groups; and their perceptions about success or failure in relation to whether the teacher is from their group or from another group.

In the most recent research by Phelan et al. (1994), 70% of the students identified as "different worlds/border crossings resisted" in their subsample reported the following:

> . . . difficulties with at least one or two teachers. From their perspective, they were singled out and "picked on" for reasons of ethnicity, gender, behavior, values and beliefs, and/or personal attributes . . . . Others . . . were sensitive to issues of race and ethnicity, interpreted teacher comments as racist, and felt personally devalued. (pp. 430–431)

Difficulties with teachers is not the only issue in the analysis of responses reflecting ethnicity orientations made obvious in the cited research. Phelan et al. (1994) also summarize their observations of students' reactions to issues of ethnicity, race, language differences, and other cultural attributes that create negative impacts in the academic environment and that reverberate through the psychological stages of ethnic identity development in Banks' typology.

> Tensions, hostilities and direct encounters with racism perpetuate stereotypes [Stage 1], foster misunderstandings [Stages 1 and 2], and thus serve to maintain rigid and impenetrable borders that block interaction between student groups [Stage 2]. Students respond to discrimination from their peers in a number of ways. Some internalize the hostility and often yield to an overwhelming sense of hopelessness [Stage 1]. Others react with anger and attribute

> stereotypes to all other members of a particular group (i.e., gringos) [Stages 1 and 2]. Still others ensconce themselves in the midst of protective peers to separate themselves as much as possible from students who are culturally different [Stage 2]. Many of these students also avoid taking classes without their friends. Finally, some students attempt to hide who they are and "fit in" with the mainstream crowd [Stage 1]. (pp. 439–440)

Further research related to the finding reported above should be driven by questions such as whether another sampling of students in the same age range, from various geographic locations and ethnic backgrounds, indicates the same distribution across the levels of ethnic identity development; whether there are more or the same proportion of individuals from the European-American subsample who score at the higher levels of stages of ethnic identity development; and, whether students who do score in the higher levels of ethnic identity development indicate a higher level of knowledge and reading engagement as compared to feelings about multicultural concepts.

The significant cluster of students in Stage 3 across age, gender, ethnicity, and geographical region may be indicative of the need for specific literacy instruction. This instruction should provide perspectives that help students to resolve issues of their own cultural or ethnic identity before they can aptly receive, be appreciative of, trust, celebrate, care to be involved with, or learn more about the concerns of others from different cultures. The concentration of students in Stage 3 is, in part, explained by Ogbu's (1985) analysis of the issues of minority group literacy, indicating that historical limitations are manifest in the minority group members' expressive responses from an oppositional identity and oppositional cultural frame of reference. Ogbu cites Fordham's (1984) observation that these oppositional responses have been found to result in a high degree of encapsulation for students and difficulty in crossing cultural boundaries. The recent work of Phelan et al. (1994) supports the findings of Ogbu and Fordham.

Further research related to the findings of this study should be driven by questions that address whether additional samplings of students from the same age range, and from varied geographical locations and ethnic backgrounds, indicate a similar propensity to cluster at Stage 3 of ethnic identity development. Other questions include whether there is the same, greater, or lesser extent of content and discussion relevant to the early stages of Banks' typology and curriculum goals in these students' classes and whether the students in these samples indicate a higher or lower level of knowledge and reading engagement as compared to feelings about multicultural concepts.

The greater proportion of Hispanic students that cluster in Stages 1 and 2 as compared to the other ethnic groups may be attributed to the common experience of being stigmatized or discriminated against because of language difference. This phenomenon is explained by Zentella (1986), who found that Puerto Rican children in bilingual or monolingual classes felt ostracized because they spoke Spanish in a variety of forms, as well as English with

variations. The consequences of this ostracism, no doubt, lead to greater in-group identification, hostility toward the out-group for many individuals, rejection of the language of the dominant society, or coalition-building to preserve and uphold the virtues of the first language and culture.

In the Hispanic-American sample in this study, one of the classes consisted of a homogeneous group of Puerto Rican students (accounting for a substantial proportion of the total Hispanic-American subsample) who were receiving bilingual instruction. The teacher, also Puerto Rican, indicated that these students were both shy and confused when discussing their culture and multicultural issues, and often expressed personal prejudices against more than one other ethnic group.

These findings are not surprising. According to Phelan et al. (1994), many of the adolescents they interviewed, particularly those from ethnic minority groups, "describe discriminatory acts (by adults and peers) that leave them feeling devalued because of their ethnicity, culture, and/or language" (p. 443).

Future research related to this finding needs to investigate whether additional samplings of students from a variety of Hispanic-American ethnic backgrounds are distributed in the same way across Banks' stages of ethnic identity development; whether these students are in bilingual instructional programs, ESL programs, ethnically homogeneous classroom groups, or classrooms with diverse ethnic and racial groupings; and whether their level of knowledge and reading engagement is higher or lower as compared to feelings about multicultural concepts.

The difference between numbers of least, moderately, and highly engaged readers found in lower and higher stages of ethnic identity development may be indicative of the relationship between level of reading engagement and opportunities for familiarity with and understanding of issues regarding one's culture and the cultures of others.

In their analysis of students' perceptions of their social and academic status, Phelan et al. (1994) characterize the students in the group who were most resistant to crossing the boundaries of their different worlds as having feelings of social marginalization that appear to affect their ability to profit from educational settings. The researchers suggest that:

> Interventions to have a positive impact on students' relationships with each other are important at all levels within school environments. Particularly necessary are strategies that enable students to articulate and examine their own presuppositions about other social and cultural groups in a context that makes explicit unequal power relationships in the classroom, school, and larger society. Enabling all students to broaden their views and develop richer and more complex understandings of themselves in relationship to culturally diverse peers may well lessen the circumstances that [students described above] equate with pressure and stress. The quality of peer relationships bears directly on students' psychosocial and academic well-being (p. 443).

These researchers would also suggest that, conversely, the quality of academic content—what is presented and discussed or not presented

and discussed—may bear directly on students' peer relationships and their psychosocial well-being. Thus, a cycle is implied that has ramifications for reading engagement level for many students, if not all.

Further research should investigate similar samples of students to determine whether they are distributed in the same manner across levels of reading engagement as compared to stages of ethnic identity development; whether the content and discussion in literacy instruction for these students provide substantial opportunities for familiarity with and understanding of the issues subsumed in Banks' typology of stages and curriculum goals; and whether the scope of these students' personal reading activities reflects any potential to expose them to issues of their own culture and that of others.

The low percentage of instructional interaction or instructional material containing concepts related to the elements of Banks' typology or including any ethnic minority character in an active role may be a partial explanation for why most of the students cluster at Stage 3 of ethnic identity development, while they yield a relatively limited distribution in Stage 4 and there is only one individual in Stage 5.

The fact that European-American students also clustered mainly at Stage 3 (Ethnic Identity Clarification), and to a lesser extent at Stage 4 (Bi-Ethnicity), may be attributable, in part, to the mistake that is often made in assuming that a multicultural or ethnic focus is meant for classrooms that are visibly multicultural, diverse, or consisting of minority ethnic group students. Another influential factor may be the lack of conscientious discussion about issues of culture and cultural values beyond the boundaries of instructional materials and philosophies that are dominated by Western European ideologies and beyond the boundaries of superficial exploration of heroes, customs, traditions, dress, and foodways of a culture.

Further research and analysis is necessary to determine whether the data set from Phase 1 indicates fewer changes in ethnic identity development, locus of control, and reading engagement as compared to the data set from Phase 3, which will involve extensive use of instruction and materials guided by Banks' typology. The treatment process data may yield results that suggest multicultural literacy instruction needs to aim beyond using rich, authentic materials representative of all cultures in democratic ways.

Recommendations

Research and its dissemination can contribute effectively to public policy that will address these issues, if it accounts for the specific research implications described above as well as other indications of learners' progress in cultural or multicultural development. Moreover, teachers' perceptions of cultures and multicultural issues, and how they set out to teach culturally diverse groups of learners as well as individuals, need to be addressed. From an ethnic identity orientation perspective, kinds of content in texts used to teach reading and/or language arts and kinds of discussions engaged should also be considered.

The most productive forms of collaboration for purposes of evaluation, reform, and implementation of educational policy in relation to literacy can occur if there is some systematization of curriculum design that addresses cultural perspectives brought to the classroom by students, teachers, and instructional materials. Systematization should not be confused with standardization. Here, systematization is intended to mean the use of a set of broad guidelines, such as Banks' typology and curriculum goals, to guide learning based on a wide variety of related opportunities in content or discussion. This is opposed to standardization, which would suggest a mandate to cover very specific elements or concepts within the broad framework of guidelines. Systematization would remind us to ask, "Have I covered these aspects of development by including issues relevant to the needs and concerns of the students in my group?" By contrast, standardization might only remind us to ask, "Have I covered the number and types of aspects relevant to the issues and concerns of some preselected groups that might not be represented among the students?"

Identification of a viable framework for gauging the interface between students, teachers, and instructional materials in terms of cultural or multicultural orientation is a critical point of connection for home, school, and community constituencies that will contribute to the advancement of literacy and multicultural competency. Parents, teachers, administrators, researchers, librarians, and policy makers can all contribute to and benefit from a set of parameters and goals for curriculum design that are universal in principle and generalizable to the teaching and learning relationship for participants of all backgrounds.

The findings of this study and continued research in this area will be highly significant to education, particularly in reading, language arts, and the humanities in general, by indicating ways in which these areas of teaching and learning can be made more relevant to the humanities and to all individuals involved. This series of inquiries and its findings bring implications to cultural politics, in terms of democratization and relationships between legitimate knowledge and power; curriculum policy, in terms of how we teach and use texts; the sociology of curriculum, in terms of empowerment; critical literacy, in terms of the potential for social transformation; and the interrelationships of these implications (Apple, 1992). To reiterate what Novak (1977) has stated, our society is in need of a "public and popular humanities," one that demonstrates sensitivity to others, consciousness-raising about one's own ethnicity, and a sharing in the social and political issues of those with whom we are culturally intertwined (such as teachers and students who sit together).

The findings obtained from data analysis in phase one of this study indicate a need to invest more attention in issues related to Stages 1 through 3 of Banks' typology, since a majority of students clusters in these stages. There is no doubt that these students have been exposed to many units of instruction intended to address multicultural literacy and literacy within multicultural contexts. A variety of types of multicultural instruction was occurring in many of

the participating classrooms throughout the school year. However, a relatively small proportion of student responses reflected an appreciation for issues of culture to the extent that they would be rated at Stage 4 (Bi-Ethnicity) or Stage 5 (Multicultural and Reflective Nationalism), kinds of thinking or ways of feeling. A majority of the students, across ethnic groups, indicated thoughts characteristic of Stage 3 (Ethnic Identity Clarification).[6]

We may infer that there is a great need to incorporate issues and curriculum goals of the early stages of Banks' typology into our curriculum and address these first, before injecting students with a curriculum that is, at best, abundant with perspectives of other cultures, but shallow regarding cultural issues. Addressing the early stages first may enhance students' self-esteem, motivation, self-awareness, base of knowledge, and reading engagement. Efforts toward the improvement of multicultural literacy and the development of literacy within multicultural contexts can benefit tremendously from the guidance offered in Banks' typology and curriculum guidelines to the extent that we can advance multicultural and global competencies for students, teachers, teacher educators, librarians, education agencies, and publishers of literature and instructional texts.

[6]A Stage 3 rating should not be interpreted to mean that one has adequately resolved one's ethnic identity to the fullest extent possible, or even to a reasonable degree.

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